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VOLUME XXV, No. 9

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1931

WHOLE No. 672

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THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND VERGIL

An unknown medieval hymn-writer, in a Mass of St. Paul¹, describes the great Apostle as stopping, on his journey to Rome, at Vergil's tomb at Naples:

Ad Maronis mausoleum
ductus, fudit super eum
piae rorem lacrimae.
"Quem te", inquit, "reddidissem,
si te vivum invenissem,
poetarum maxime".

This is one instance, out of an almost countless number that might be quoted, testifying to the extraordinary affection and veneration in which Vergil was held by the medieval Church. How are we to explain that feeling? The Fourth Eclogue, no doubt, was one of the causes. But, though that poem must inevitably have made, and did in fact make, a strong appeal to many generations of Christians, we can hardly avoid the feeling that the regard of the medieval Church for Vergil was a phenomenon so wide-spread and so continuous as to imply a broader and firmer foundation. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that such foundation may be found in the Aeneid.

"La venue même du Christ", says Sainte Beuve², "n'a rien qui étonne quand on a lu Virgile". The great critic had not taken leave of his accustomed sanity when he made that statement. The contacts of the Aeneid with Christianity are numerous and impressive, and some of them are deeply significant. Moreover, they would be more readily recognized in the Middle Ages than at the present time. There are two reasons for this, which need to be mentioned because they are so frequently overlooked.

One reason is that, in the Middle Ages, the Bible and Vergil had largely the same audience; they were read in the same language, Latin. In general, those who could read the one could read the other, and those who could not read the one could not read the other. To-day the enormous majority of those who read the Bible read it in their own language; a very small minority reads it in the original. But in the Middle Ages the Latin Bible held the field almost unchallenged; translations into the vernacular were very rare; Greek and Hebrew were very little known and still less used.

This almost exclusive dependence on the Vulgate is strikingly illustrated by the argument which Abelard used in a letter to St. Bernard in regard to the Lord's Prayer. When St. Jerome revised the Latin Bible, he was puzzled (as greater scholars than he have been puzzled, before and since) by the word *ἐπιούσιον* which is used by the first and third Evangelists in reporting the Lord's Prayer. In the First Gospel St.

Jerome translated the word by *supersubstantialem*, but in the Third Gospel he retained the older rendering *quotidianum*, which is the word regularly used in the Western Service Books. When St. Bernard visited the Convent of the Paraclete, he noticed that the word *supersubstantialem* was used in saying the Lord's Prayer, and he commented on this to the Abbess Heloise. She referred the complaint to Abelard, who wrote a long letter to St. Bernard, defending the use of *supersubstantialem* on the ground that St. Matthew, being an Apostle, was a better authority than St. Luke, whose information was second-hand: "De ipso fonte Matthaeus, de rivulo fontis Lucas est potatus", said Abelard. So exclusively did he depend upon the Vulgate that he took for granted that a verbal difference in St. Jerome represented a corresponding difference in the original. In the same letter Abelard quotes the Greek phrase *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον*, which occurs in both Evangelists, but he quotes it apparently from an Eastern Service Book and not directly from the New Testament, and he quotes it as occurring in St. Matthew alone (I wonder what word he thought St. Luke used). It is interesting to note that similar mistakes were made by a number of other writers whose dates range from the fifth century to the fifteenth³.

Nothing could more clearly show that for many centuries the Bible was almost exclusively a Latin book. This means, as was pointed out above, that Vergil and the Bible had largely the same audience, and therefore that contacts between the two would be more readily recognized and felt than now.

But there is another reason for the strong appeal which the Aeneid made to the Middle Ages. That reason is to be found in the difference of outlook on life between that time and our own. The extent to which we are more civilized than the people of the Middle Ages may be debatable, but there can be no possible question that we are more comfortable. For the great majority, life is much easier now than it was then; comforts, pleasures, and luxuries have multiplied; there has been a shift of emphasis. Life is more and more regarded as a thing to be enjoyed here and now; it is less and less regarded as a preparation for a life hereafter. The idea of life as a pilgrimage has receded from its former prominence; but that idea was part of the warp and woof of medieval Christianity, and the medieval Christian found it recurring throughout the Aeneid.

Life was bitterly hard for the great majority in the Middle Ages, and there did not seem to be any great

³There is a fairly full discussion of this in an article by Professor Joseph Barber Lightfoot (afterwards Bishop of Durham). The article is on the words *ἐπιούσιος* and *μεριούσιος*, and is published in a book entitled *The Revision of the English Version of the New Testament*, by Lightfoot, Trench, and Ellicott, with an Introduction by Dr. Philip Schaff (Harpers, 1873). Pages 176-179 are of special interest.

¹Quoted by T. R. Glover, *Virgil*, 332 (London, Methuen and Company).

²Étude sur Virgile, quoted by Glover, *Virgil*, 332.

prospect of very much improvement. In such circumstances the thought of a redressed balance in the world to come loomed larger than it does with us. To say this is not to endorse the theories of a transient school of psychologists who think that they have adequately explained religion as an escape-mechanism; but it is natural enough that, in time of wide-spread comfort, the idea of this life as a pilgrimage should become a smaller factor in our thinking.

The Christian of the Middle Ages realized that he was a stranger and a sojourner as all his fathers were. Here he had no continuing city, but he sought one to come. He was acquainted with grief, but in his sorrows he called to remembrance the former days in which he had endured a great fight of afflictions. Knowing in himself that in heaven he had a better and an enduring substance, he cast not away his confidence, for he had need of patience, that, after he had done the will of God, he might receive the promise. Through various misfortunes, through numberless crises in his life, he was pressing on toward the Promised Land where Providence had in store for him a home of rest. It was the will of God that the glories of Eden should be restored there. Meanwhile he must endure and save himself for the better things to come. He was seeking a better country, that is, an heavenly; God had promised him a city. It was no transient dwelling he was seeking; he was looking for the city that hath the foundations. 'A kingdom without end have I given', was the assurance from on high.

The preceding paragraph fairly summarizes an outlook on life which was typical of the early and medieval Church. But that paragraph is a conflation, in about equal proportions, of the Bible and the Aeneid (the passages, in order, are as follows: Psalms 39. 12, Hebrews 13. 14, and Aeneid 3. 86; Isaiah 53. 3 and Aeneid 1. 198; Hebrews 10. 32, 34, 35; Aeneid 1. 199; Aeneid 1. 204-208; Hebrews 11. 16; Hebrews 11. 10; Aeneid 1. 279). As we read the paragraph, the first thing that strikes us is the similarity of the two sources; they express the same train of thought in remarkably similar phraseology. A good many persons, fairly familiar with both sources, might experience some difficulty if they were called upon offhand to segregate them. The extraordinary esteem with which the medieval Church regarded Vergil was due to various causes; one of these causes was Aeneas, the Pilgrim.

The Trojans, like the Christians, were fleeing from a City of Destruction to a Promised Land. Aeneas, the leader of the pilgrim band, himself exemplifies the typical qualities of a pilgrim. He 'waited for the Lord'; he submitted himself to Divine guidance. Often the guidance was slow in coming, but, when it came, he followed it without delay³. The Christian pilgrim, as he thinks of his own checkered career, realizes that occasional flashes of intuition are followed by long periods when the light is obscured; he sees a similar ex-

perience in the career of Aeneas. In occasional moments of despondency, even the goal itself becomes temporarily obscured; in the *quicunque est* of Aeneas (Aeneid 5. 83) he hears an echo of his own feelings. But the doubt passes, for, like Aeneas, he is following an appointed destiny (1. 382); he is toiling along an appointed way (6. 477). Twice (3. 182, 5. 725) Anchises mentions that Aeneas was 'disciplined' by his experiences; he learned obedience by the things which he suffered (Hebrews 5. 8; compare also Hebrews 2. 10). The longing for rest, so constantly expressed in the records of medieval Christianity, is pulsing and quivering through the Aeneid. One of the deepest feelings of the pilgrim's life is the feeling that he is pursuing a receding goal; Aeneas is no stranger to that feeling. These two feelings merge in Aeneid 3. 493-497, where they find their ideal expression:

Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.
Vobis parta quies, nullum maris aequor arandum
arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
quaerenda.

These words reach straight to the heart of the faithful Christian when he is called upon to part with his loved ones, as he contrasts the lot of 'those whose rest is won' with his own struggles. They have 'laid hold on life'; their peace is secure; they reach in heaven the goal which still eludes him on earth.

Now, of course, I am not suggesting that Vergil intended the Aeneid to be an allegory of the lives of the saints. What I am suggesting is that an earnest Christian, in reading the Aeneid, would over and over again find passages which would appeal to him as an ideal expression of his own experiences and feelings. There are some in our day who feel that way; for reasons which have already been mentioned the number would have been relatively much greater in the Middle Ages. To such persons, the broken line, Aeneid 5. 815, 'One life shall be given for many', would read like a conflation of three of the profoundest passages in the Gospels (Matthew 20. 28; Mark 10. 45; John 11. 50). To such persons there would be real significance in the fact that Aeneas did not receive any adequate revelation of the real meaning of his pilgrimage until late in his journey (in Book 6); and there would be further significance in the fact that this revelation was preceded by the solemn warning (Aeneid 6. 84) that, though the longer part of the journey was over, the harder part remained. In these passages such persons would see an allegory of their own religious life.

In the history of Israel there was an event which the Christian Church has instinctively interpreted as an allegory of the Christian life—the journey from the Land of Bondage to the Promised Land. The hero of that pilgrimage was Moses, as Aeneas was the hero of the Trojan pilgrimage. The characters of Aeneas and Moses have much in common. Both heroes were 'men of faith'; both constantly sought Divine guidance; both attained a reputation for patience and 'meekness'; in both cases the habitual patience was occasionally interrupted by outbursts of impatience, and in both the 'meekness' was not incompatible with passionate

³In the great hymn of St. Bernard of Cluny, *urbis sine tempore* reads like an echo of this passage and the preceding phrase *non tempora dona*. The same idea occurs elsewhere in that hymn.

⁴It will be noticed that even at Carthage Mercury did not think it necessary (Aeneid 4. 265-276) to give 'the sum and substance' of Jupiter's message, *naviget* (4. 237).

feeling (compare Aeneid 1. 94-101 and 5. 687-692 with Exodus 32. 19 and Numbers 20. 10). In the case of both men, a well-earned reputation for patience has, in the popular mind, obscured a passionate nature which was usually controlled, though controlled with difficulty⁶.

In a very interesting article published in The Classical Journal (24. 28-44) Professor Frank Justus Miller compares the wanderings of the Hebrews with those of the Trojans. He mentions five points of similarity, but he might easily have doubled the number. At least ten may be noticed: (1) A chosen people; (2) a Divinely appointed deliverer; (3) a long, toilsome, and dangerous journey; (4) a promised land; (5) the character of the deliverer, loyal to the will of God, brave, self-controlled, and patient; (6) the personal sacrifices made by the deliverer, who cast aside the opportunity of an assured career (Aeneid 4. 45-49) because he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season (Hebrews 11. 24-25); (7) the waning faith of the people (Aeneid 5. 613-617 and Exodus 16. 2-3); (8) a nation through whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed; (9) the long fighting after the promised land was entered; (10) the mysterious death of the deliverer: his body was never found; 'God took him'. When we remember the abiding popularity of the story of Israel with the Christian Church, and the symbolism attached to it, we can readily understand how Christians who read Vergil would be impressed by this large-scale parallelism.

'By pureness... by kindness', said Paul of Tarsus⁷, in a list of the qualities by which the Christian ministry should approve itself. These two qualities are the qualities which especially differentiate Christianity from other religions. Their prominence in the primitive Christian Church attracted the notice of those who were not Christians, and a broad survey of subsequent history serves to corroborate the early observations. These two qualities are distinctly noticeable in the Aeneid. In regard to the first-named, we may say of Vergil, as Tennyson said of Wordsworth, that he

⁶On Aeneas as a man of strong feelings and deeply passionate nature, usually kept—all too well for Aeneas's reputation in later days—under control see my paper, Some Remarks on the Character of Aeneas, The Classical Journal 26. 99-111 (November, 1930).

In a letter to me dated February 7, 1931, Mr. Valentine was kind enough to make complimentary reference to the paper referred to in the preceding paragraph. His words are pertinent to his present paper. They were as follows:

"I was especially interested in your contention that Vergil's portraiture was the portraiture of a passionate hero. This conception (which is quite at variance with the vague impressions of careless readers) had been emphasized by you before; but I was glad to see it emphasized again, because it has long seemed to me that the spineless Aeneas of popular fancy would make the poem meaningless. You may perhaps recall that about a year ago I took the liberty of submitting to you an article on the reasons which led the Christian Church of the Middle Ages to make so much of Vergil, in fact, almost to canonize him; and I there called attention to the parallelism between Aeneas and Moses, both of them having a reputation for meekness which they did not altogether deserve. Both were men of strong passions; in both cases the passionate nature was usually controlled, though controlled with difficulty. In this connection I would venture to suggest that, in the first appearance of Aeneas on the scene in person (1. 92-101), the keynote is not fear but passionate impatience; he was willing enough to die, but, if Heaven meant him to die, why could he not have died when and where he wanted to die, namely fighting in defense of Troy? This characteristic of Aeneas reaches its climax in 5. 685-692. I have long felt that these two passages belong together. The impatience of Moses reaches a similar climax (Numbers 20)". C. K. >

⁷2 Corinthians 6. 6.

"uttered nothing base". In regard to the other, it will be sufficient to quote the words of Professor J. W. Mackail⁸: "... it is not merely in this figure or that, it is throughout, that the Aeneid is saturated with human tenderness..."

One other point may be mentioned. Although Christianity is not quite alone in its condemnation of suicide (for the Neo-Platonists, among others, condemned it), yet the prevailing heathen sentiment, from the dawn of history to modern Japan, has been that suicide is at worst an error of judgment and at times a positive duty. But Christianity is utterly and always opposed to the practice, and the medieval Church heaped contumely upon the offender. The medieval Christian would thoroughly endorse Vergil's condemnation of those 'who threw their souls away' (Aeneid 6. 436). It is true that Vergil makes an exception in Dido's case, but he specifically states (Aeneid 4. 696-697) that Dido's deed was committed in temporary aberration of mind; this would place her deed outside the category of suicide. Both in his general principle and in the grounds for his exception, Vergil was in harmony with the mind of the medieval Church.

From what has been said it will be evident that the Aeneid, to an extraordinary extent, lends itself to a Christian interpretation and would seem like home territory to a medieval Christian. To seek the underlying explanation of this fact would be an interesting study, but it lies outside the limits of this paper. My purpose here is merely to establish the fact and to suggest that this fact goes a long way toward explaining the esteem in which Vergil was held by the medieval Church.

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Lucretius and Memmius

Lucretius dedicated the De Rerum Natura to Gaius Memmius. He refers to Memmius by name four times in the first book, three times in the second, five in the fifth, and not at all in the third, fourth, and sixth books¹. Why this difference? Kannengiesser's explanation is that Lucretius wrote the first version of his poem for the general reader and that he partially revised the poem by adding passages in honor of Memmius². Unfortunately, the passages in which Memmius is mentioned by name are in several cases so clearly essential to the economy of the work that

¹J. W. Mackail, Virgil and His Meaning to the World of To-day, 108 (Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1922, now published by Longmans, Green and Company, New York). Professor Mackail quotes a list of passages to illustrate this point. It is hardly necessary to supplement his list; but two instances may be added where a single spontaneous word shows the poet's quick sympathy. The two passages are Aeneid 5. 837 and 2. 406; the single words are *dura* and *teneras*. How many Romans would think of wooden benches as being hard for toughened sailors or of the possibility that a rope might chafe a captive woman's wrists?

²1. 26, 42, 411, 1052, 2. 143, 182, 1080, 5. 8, 93, 164, 864, 1280. This is the list given by Johannes Paulson, Index Lucretianus² (Leipzig, Wilmannsdruk der Spamerschen Buchdruckerei, 1926). But in 2. 1080 include Memmi is Gronovius's emendation for *induce mentem* in OQV; in 3. 206 *tu, O bone*, may be a reference to Memmius; in 1. 50 Hermann Diels reads *quod super est, Gai...*; compare his edition of Lucretius, published at Berlin, by Weidmann, in 1923.

³Adolf Kannengiesser, Zum Fünften Buch des Lucretius, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie 28 (1882), 833-837, and Memmius im Gedichte des Lucretius, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie 31 (1885), 59-64.

Kannengiesser is forced by his theory almost to wreck the general scheme of the poem. Consequently, his arguments are not convincing. Merrill accepts the general idea of a revision in Memmius's honor, but suggests that in this revision the mere name of Memmius was substituted as a metrical equivalent for a word (or words) which occurred in the original version². But this hypothesis, otherwise acceptable, is open to the objection that it affords no explanation of the longer passages in praise of Memmius³.

Another explanation is perfectly obvious, that Lucretius wrote at first with Memmius in mind, but that his enthusiasm for his patron later cooled. This seems a natural explanation of the facts, and it has been widely accepted in the form in which it was set forth by Bruns⁴ and by Brandt⁵. But *why* did Lucretius cease to admire Memmius? There is a possible explanation which I wish to offer because I think it is new evidence and because it helps the side of the debate which on various grounds I consider right.

Elsewhere I have tried to give some reasons for my belief that the traditional impression of Memmius is probably incorrect, that he was not, so far as we know, anti-Epicurean, and that he may indeed have promised to restore the ruined building of the Epicurean School at Athens⁷. Now, it is known (a) that Memmius did give up some sort of plan for building on the site of the Epicurean School, and (b) that Memmius and Patro (head of the Epicureans at Athens) quarreled⁸. Perhaps the ground for this quarrel was some phase of the projected restoration. If this was the case, Lucretius, the fervent disciple of Epicurus, would inevitably array himself upon the side of Patro, the master's representative. Thus Lucretius's admiration for Memmius would naturally come to an end.

No known fact in the life of Memmius is opposed to this theory of the relationship between him and Lucretius⁹. Memmius was tribune of the people in 66, praetor in 58, and provincial governor of Bithynia in 57. In 54 he became a candidate for the consulship, but was accused of bribery in the elections. The trial resulted in the abysmal collapse of his hopes for a future career, and he retired to Athens. It was in 51, while he was still in exile there, that Cicero wrote the letter with regard to Memmius's plan for building on the site of the Epicurean School. It is probable that Memmius died soon after this year. Thus it may have been at any point in the prosperous part of his career that Memmius promised to restore the School. One can only guess,

likewise, as to when he may have given up this intention. It has always seemed somewhat strange, however, that Lucretius was not invited to accompany Memmius to Bithynia in 57, with Catullus, or in place of him. May we then assume that the 'sweet friendship' with his patron for which Lucretius hoped when he wrote Book I was in 57 a thing of the past¹⁰? At all events, the financial ups and downs of a political career at Rome may at any stage have constituted sufficient excuse for undertaking or for resigning a project involving expense.

The most acceptable theory of the order in which the books of the *De Rerum Natura* were composed (1, 2, 5-6, 4, 3) also seems to agree with the hypothesis under discussion¹¹. If we assume that Books 1, 2, and 5 were written after Memmius's promise and that Books 6, 4, and 3 were written after the refusal to carry out this promise, we have a rather plausible explanation of Lucretius's change of attitude toward his patron.

In short, the hypothesis that Memmius once promised to restore the School may, I think, show us why Lucretius chose him as patron. Again, if we accept the hypothesis of Memmius's promise, his failure to carry out the promise, reflected perhaps in the quarrel with Patro, will answer the reader's quite natural question as to Lucretius's complete silence about Memmius in three entire books of the *De Rerum Natura*. The uncertainty of this hypothesis is obvious, but so is its utility.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

JOHN BARKER STEARNS

Papyri in the Princeton University Collections. Edited, With Notes, by Allan Chester Johnson and Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, Number 10. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1931). Pp. xxiii + 146.

Professor A. C. Johnson, of Princeton University, and Dr. H. B. Van Hoesen, now Librarian at Brown University, have, in the volume under review, Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, presented their readings of fourteen Greek documents, all of an economic character and all from the first century after Christ. All the documents, except No. 13, are of the same type, namely, lists of names of taxpayers with amounts paid. No. 13 is a private account. The book has, therefore, a unity of subject which adds to the value of the materials presented. The general historical conclusions drawn from their work the editors have stated in an Introduction of ten pages (xiii-xxiii) which contains some valuable comments. Also the text of each piece is preceded by an explanation applying particularly to that document. In each case after the document come the customary notes and comments upon doubtful readings. In the tests which I have applied to the Indices (117-146), they show a high degree of accuracy of reference to the text.

The editor of The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology, Professor David M. Robinson, deserves much

²William Augustus Merrill, *Lucretiana*, Proceedings of the American Philological Association 35 (1904), lxvii.

³1.1-62 is excepted by Merrill on the theory that it was written separately. No explanation is given for 1.140-145, which also clearly refers to Memmius. Both passages are essential parts of the problem.

⁴H. Bruns, *Lukrez-Studien* (Freiburg, J. C. B. Mohr, 1884).

⁵S. Brandt, *Zur Chronologie des Gedichtes des Lucretius und zur Frage nach der Stellung des Memmius in Derselben*, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie 31 (1885), 601-613.

⁶A Note on Gaius Memmius, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24 (1931), 161-162.

⁷Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 13.1.

⁸The 'literature' with regard to Memmius is extensive. Perhaps the best general sketch of Memmius's career is still that by Friedrich Bockemüller, *Ein Zeitgenosse J. Caesars*, *Grenzboten*, Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur, und Kunst 28 (1869), 129-143. The facts of Memmius's life (together with the ancient sources) are also to be found in W. Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 2.1026 (London, Taylor and Walton, 1846).

¹⁰Compare 1.140 *sperata voluptas suavis amicitiae*.

¹¹Johannes Mewaldt, *T. Lucretius Carus*, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 13.1669 (Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler, 1926).

credit for undertaking the publication of this volume, as the publication of papyri is always a costly matter. The printing is accurate and the typographical appearance of the volume is presentable, except for the use of an English 'upper case' C for the half-obol sign, and the size of the Greek *stigma* (for the numeral 6), which is excessive and disturbing to the reader.

Most of the Princeton documents are connected with the payment of a tax called the *syntaximon*, which seems to me to be a combination of several things, a poll tax of 44 drachmas, the pig tax of one drachma, one obol, and a small fee¹ of 6 *chalkoi* ('copers'). The central and most important document of the group is No. 9 (41-62), which is the annual statement put together by the bank at Philadelphia, at the end of the year, of the installment payments upon the *syntaximon*. As we have just finished at Columbia University the reading and preparation of a similar bank statement regarding *syntaximon* payments, I was able, in a brief visit to Princeton, to approach Princeton Papyrus No. 9 with considerable knowledge of that type. With my thanks to Professor Allan C. Johnson for making the Princeton material available and for constant help and interest, I present the following suggestions and comments on the reading and interpretation of No. 9.

The list of names of the taxpayers is alphabetically arranged, in general according to the first two letters of each name, though this is not consistently carried out. In Column 4, for example, one finds *Thibron* ahead of *Theon*, in Column 6 (*H*)ier- and *Ision* in the midst of numerous *Ischyriens*. In the Columbia *syntaximon* list (dated about 100 years later than the Princeton list) the technique of arrangement of the names has been developed to such a point that the alphabetizing according to the first two letters is consistently carried through. Both lists of payments were audited. For the Princeton list see the editors' comment on page 42. If the poll tax was paid in full, and the pig tax paid, the auditing official drew a double check mark (11) from a point below the tax subject's name. The editors have failed to note the purpose of the double check. This mark, standing prominently against the names of those who paid in full, made it easy for another clerk to note those who had not paid in full and so to draw up the list of *syntaximon* arrears to be collected the following year.

In the unpublished Columbia list there are numerous instances of a method of recording the installment payments with an abbreviation $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () before the day of payment, e. g. 'Payni $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () 12th'. In Princeton Papyrus No. 9, where the editors have read double dates, such as $\lambda \mu \epsilon$, the reading should be $\lambda \mu\epsilon$ () ϵ , the $\mu\epsilon$ () being an acceptable abbreviation for the Columbia $\mu\epsilon\tau$ (). This change, from the reading μ to $\mu\epsilon$ (), must be made in Princeton Papyrus No. 9 in the following places (the references here, as below, are to columns and lines): 1. 18; 2. 5, 25; 3. 15; 4. 19, 21, 26; 5. 17; 6. 15, 18. In 4. 19 the reading $\mu\epsilon$ (), *mu* with superim-

posed *epsilon*, is quite clear. With the recovery of this abbreviation as the equivalent of the $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () in the Columbia Papyrus, the several possible explanations for their double dates which the editors advance on page 50 lose all validity. In the forthcoming volume dealing with Columbia Papyri from Theadelphia, Professor Keyes and I are offering the resolution $\mu\epsilon\tau$ (λ $\delta\gamma\omicron\nu$) for $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () and $\mu\epsilon$ (). We shall there suggest that the λ date (30th) is understood before $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () in all of our cases, that the taxpayer made his payment on the earlier day of the month, but obtained his receipt (at the bank?) on the last day of the month. For a somewhat similar explanation see Preisigke's Wörterbuch¹, under $\lambda\delta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, 17-18.

In Princeton Papyrus No. 9, 4. 21, where the editors read $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$ ($\mu\omicron\varsigma$), I read $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$ (ι), thereby eliminating the difficulty of use of the Macedonian month-name in the sixteenth year of Tiberius. Further, misgivings expressed by the editors in note to No. 8, 5. 5, regarding their doubtful reading giving another Macedonian month were justified. Where they read $\Lambda\delta\tau\tau\epsilon$ ($\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$) ϵ , dotting, underneath, each visible letter of the month-name, I read $\Lambda\delta\tau\tau\epsilon$ ϵ , allowing for accidental omission, by the clerk, of the initial letter.

In their discussion of the tax called *syntaximon* (xv-xvi) the editors have come to the false conclusion that this tax, like the *laographia*, was exacted in differing amounts from different classes of the Egyptian subject population. Their own bank statement of the *syntaximon* payers (No. 9) shows no less than 23 names of persons, in accounts legible throughout, who paid the poll tax in the sum of 44 drachmas. There are four entries with double checks of persons who paid less than 44 drachmas as poll tax, and one who paid more. In such cases there is always a marginal note by the checking official stating why the person was checked as having paid in full. Either he had died during the current tax year (see the marginal notation $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda$ [$\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon$] in 4. 10), or 'he showed receipt in full', $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron$ () $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta$ () $\pi\lambda$ (). For the resolution of the latter abbreviations I suggest $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron$ ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\kappa\epsilon$) $\sigma\upsilon\mu$ ($\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$) $\pi\lambda$ ($\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$). The suggestion of the editors (xv), that $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ "refers to the convention or agreement whereby these citizens were admitted to a more privileged class. . .", is most assuredly wrong. The editors did not observe, in reading the marginal note placed against the taxpayer's name in 3. 10, that the $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron$ () is clearly marked as an abbreviation by elevation of the *omicron*. In the collector's list of payments, No. 8 of the Princeton group, there are some 60 names double checked as paid in full. Of these about 58 paid 44 drachmas, which should definitely establish this amount as the fixed and sole rate. The two or three payments in this list which exceed 44 drachmas and are double checked must be explained as including arrears from the previous year. The poll tax element of the *syntaximon* group remained fixed at 44 drachmas until deeply into the second century, as our Columbia documents prove. The Princeton editors are also

¹The nature of this particular fee and its allocation are unknown. Possibly it was a small charge for clerical work done by the State in the process of recording the tax paid.

¹P. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden. . . . For a review of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24. 149-151. C. K. >

wrong, it seems to me, in their tentative conclusion (xxii) that the *syntaximon* and the *laographia* were distinct taxes. The *laographia* at 44 drachmas is more probably to be regarded as a part of the *syntaximon*.

In dealing with the account rolls kept by the tax collectors, Numbers 7 and 8, the editors have concluded (22, 23, 41) that the names in these papyri were arranged topographically. This would imply that the payments were recorded in the day-book as the taxpayers came in, as in No. 10, and were copied off according to some "register of a quarter or tax-precinct of Philadelphia" (23). If that were the case, we ought to have some example of a tax list with topographical arrangement in which the basis of the local divisions in the town itself would be clearly stated in the text. No list with such an arrangement applying to precincts of a town is known to me. The conclusion of the editors is based upon their justified desire to find out *how* the tax collectors' lists *were* arranged, and to the observation that members of a single family often appear in groups in these lists. Examples of this family grouping are 8, 1. 1-4 and 8, 1. 26-2. 6. In 8, 1. 1-4 the payments are:

Papontos : Pharmouthi 28; Pachon 21 and 26;
Epiph 2(?).

Dios, his son: Pharmouthi 28; Pachon 21 and 23;
Epith 26.

In the record of the Epiph payment by the father one might well restore the doubtful letter as 6, making the two payments fall on the same day. In 8, 1. 26-2. 6, three brothers appear, with payments as follows ("n. d. g." = 'no day is given'):

Petermouthis: —; Pachon 28; Payni 23;
Phamenoth, n.d.g.

Sochotes : Mechir, n.d.g.; Pachon 23; Payni 23;
Phamenoth, n.d.g.

Phasis : Mechir, n.d.g.; Pachon 23; Payni 23;
Phamenoth, n.d.g.

This tabulation will suffice to show that members of the same family tended to come in and pay their installments upon the same day, as the editors themselves have observed (see page 39, note to 8, 2. 2-6), or, perhaps, that one member of the family would stop work, go to the bank or to the collector's bureau, and pay at one time for all the individuals of the family. The fact that members of a family appear together on the lists is to be noted; but the explanation is a simple one, and we must not use the observation as suggesting a topographical arrangement of taxpayers in the lists.

The editors have also gone astray (24-25) in discussing delinquencies in the payment of the *syntaximon* on the basis of the collector's list of installment payments represented by No. 8. This is not a full report for the year (No. 9 is). In No. 8 only a few payments are recorded for the eleventh month (Epiph); and none at all is recorded for Mesore, the twelfth month. Therefore this list cannot correctly be used as the starting-point for the estimate of that year as a good or bad year in Egypt, as it does not afford complete grounds for an estimate of the delinquencies for the year.

A critical review necessarily emphasizes those points in which the reviewer differs from the conclusions arrived at by the writer, or writers, of the work under discussion. The resulting impression on the reader is that the work as a whole is not good. This is particularly true of any attempt to give a constructive review of papyri publications. The work upon the papyri is extremely difficult, both as to correct reading and as to interpretation. To avoid leaving a wrong impression of this publication of the Princeton Papyri, I emphasize the fact that the reading as a whole is sound, that a great deal of thoroughly honest, hard work has gone into the volume, and that a number of valuable additions to our knowledge is to be noted and welcomed. The recording of the ages of the tax-paying subjects in the tax list, No. 8, is unexpected and difficult to explain. Upon this point the editors have made valuable observations (25-26), emphasizing the fact that one man who paid the *syntaximon* was 62 years of age (the reading is certain). The accepted belief heretofore has been that the age of release from the poll tax was the sixtieth year.

The editors have also done valuable service in making suggestions upon those tax lists of the Cornell University Collection which are related to their own documents (15, 24, 26, 27). On page 27 the editors have criticized the estimate of the population of Philadelphia made by Professor Kraemer and myself in our volume on the Cornell Papyri². The estimate made by us does not now seem to me to be warranted; my change of view is due to arguments advanced by Elias Bickermann, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 43 (1927), 1294. Bickermann correctly states that our calculations were based upon the assumption that the distribution of installment payments in the successive months was fairly equal. This is not the case. There was, in fact, no regularity of payment, either in any one year or from year to year. Though the criticism of our work by the Princeton editors is entirely correct, their own approach is methodically wrong. They base it upon the deficiencies, or arrears in payment, which they thought were established by No. 8 of their documents. The trouble with this approach is that No. 8 is not a complete register of full payments for the year. Therefore, as stated above, no deductions as to delinquencies for the year can be drawn from it.

In Princeton Papyrus No. 13, a long list of receipts and disbursements (77-106), the reading has come out badly, particularly the captions and summaries of the account which should give the clew to the meaning of the whole document (1. 1-2, 6-8; 2. 1; 9. 4; 16. 1; 18. 9). The time which I could give to the reading of it does not warrant me in indicating changes in the text as established by the editors. Obviously, however, the document must be read again and re-published. It seemed to me to be an account from a private estate in which the chief agent who received and distributed the money was one Maron. It does not seem to have any-

²W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer, Jr., *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University. Edited with Translations and Notes*. . . (Columbia University Press, 1926); see Introduction to No. 21. <For this volume see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 27. 92-93. C. K.>.

thing to do with taxes or with the *praktor* (collector of money taxes), as the editors assume (78). Indeed the title *praktor* does not appear in the document. Though the reading is difficult, the nature and meaning of the account can be made quite clear. The totals which appear frequently in the account should correspond in each case to the sum of the entries in that particular section.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

Horace's Sabine Farm. By Giuseppe Lugli. Translated by Gilbert Bagnani. With 16 Plates and Two Maps. Rome: Luciano Morpurgo (1930). Pp. 71. Lire 8¹.

The Sabine Farm of Horace as excavated near Licenza by modern archaeologists, together with the problems connected with its discovery and identification, has been discussed in great detail by Professor Giuseppe Lugli in his *La Villa Sabina di Orazio*, a long article in *Monumenti Antichi* 31 (1926), 457-598², which is still the authoritative study of the subject. In the tiny book under review Professor Lugli has condensed in a masterly fashion for the use of the traveler and the general reader the results of his scholarly investigations; and another Italian, Gilbert Bagnani, has made the book more readily accessible to non-Italian readers by translating it into English.

The little treatise is divided into six chapters:

I. The Position of the Farm (7-19); II. The Horatian Landscape (21-28); III. The Monuments in the Valley of the Licenza (29-36); IV. The Villa and the Estate (37-47); V. The Excavation (49-62); VI. The Museum at Licenza (63-71).

This is an excellent guide-book, especially commendable for its serviceableness. It is of pocket-size and thin, and can conveniently be read within the hour. The text is compact and lucid and makes very entertaining reading, even for the layman, and easily sets the reader *en rapport* with the whole general problem and its major details. The translation is well done. The few minor misprints and the more frequent curious hyphenations will hamper no one. Only on page 50 does there seem to be some confusion, in a reference to certain details in the plan of the villa. There are two excellent folding plans at the back of the book, one of the villa itself, the other of the region in which it is situated, the valley of the Licenza. Sixteen photographic Plates and eight sketches are included in the text; these are all clearly reproduced and are all helpful.

It is not the intention of this brief notice to undertake a discussion of the subject-matter of the booklet. A few points may, however, be mentioned. The site described is that of Vigne di San Pietro, now almost universally acknowledged by scholars as surely the correct site³. Professor Lugli believes that Horace did

not have a second villa at Tibur (13-16), as some maintain. As to *Ustica cubantis* of Carmina 1.17.11 he holds (25) that "Ustica was probably the hill on which is built the modern village of Licenza. . . ." He regards it as apparently "established that the real *Fons Bandusiae* was near Horace's birthplace, Venosa. . ." (26); but on pages 33-36 he joins nevertheless in the search for another, Arethusa-like, Bandusian Fount on the Sabine Farm, and finds it (33-34) in the so-called Fonte Oratina or degli Oratini, "some 800 m. to the south west of the villa on the path that leads from Roccagiovane to Licenza, skirting the eastern slopes of Lucretilis and passing in front of the chapel of S. Maria delle Case. . . ."

The make-up of the book is somewhat flimsy. The covers are of stiff paper only and the binding is loose. It will not stand the wear of many visits or of much thumbing. But while it holds together, it will serve as perhaps the best small *vade mecum* now available to the eager visitor at Horace's country retreat.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The first luncheon meeting of The New York Classical Club for the year 1931-1932 was held at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, on Saturday, November 7. The meeting, which was scheduled for 10.30 A. M., started 10 minutes late, with only 73 members and guests present. During the course of the meeting the hall was entirely filled; late-comers continued to arrive until well after eleven o'clock.

After Professor Adelaide E. Hahn, Secretary-Treasurer, read the minutes of the previous meeting, Miss Beatrice Stepanek, President of the Club, made a plea for support of the Medal Fund.

When the business of the meeting was finished, the Club had the pleasure of hearing Professor Herbert Lipscomb, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, speak on *The Appeal of Horace*.

After the meeting at the Casa Italiana, luncheon was served, at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University, to 109 members and guests. Professor Carroll N. Brown, of the College of the City of New York, who served on the staff of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens last year, gave a brief account of his experiences there and compared present living conditions in Greece with those of twenty-five years ago. Professor La Rue Van Hook, of Columbia University, who was Annual Professor at the American School at Athens last year, spoke briefly of the extensive library in the Gennadeion, the property of the American School. He stated also that, while the other foreign Schools of Greek studies at Athens are mainly archeological, the American School, although not in any way neglecting archeology, is devoted to classical studies in general. Professor Van Hook urged attendance at the session next summer. Both speakers impressed their hearers with the ineffable charm of Greece.

Dr. Tonsor urged a return to culture in education. He said that there is no course in the syllabi of the New York High Schools that offers such an opportunity for culture as does the Latin course. At his suggestion Professor Ernst Riess, of Hunter College, made a motion to give the Executive Committee of the Club power to act in coming negotiations with the officials of the Board of Education of the City of New York. The meeting adjourned at 2 P. M.

EDWARD COYLE, *Censor*

¹This book may be purchased from The American Classical League (60 cents).

²See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21 (1927), 48.

³See Edward K. Rand, *A Walk to Horace's farm* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930). <For a review of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 25.53-55. C. K.>

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 217th meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday evening, November 6. Thirty-six members and guests were present; two new members were elected. The report of the Prize Committee was received and accepted. The Club awards annually two prizes of \$20 each, one to the boy who passes the best examination in Latin and Greek, the other to the girl who passes the best examination in the same subjects.

The paper of the evening was read by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, of the University of Pennsylvania, on *The Vampire Lamia*. Keats' famous poem *Lamia* served as the text. After telling how the ancients tried to prevent the reappearance of a dead man and especially of a murdered man, whose ghost was the hardest to lay, Professor McDaniel dealt with only one species of ghost, the blood-sucker, a belief in which goes back to remote ages, for vampires appear in very ancient literature.

For a belief in vampires three things are responsible: first, the still common conviction that any dead man may return under favorable circumstances, second, acute indigestion, and, lastly, the possibility of being buried alive. He then developed the *Lamia* legend, which Keats found in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621); Burton found the story in Philostratos, *De Vita Apollonii*. Keats followed the story in its details. Part I of the poem tells how the ever-smitten Hermes steals out of heaven in search of a nymph with whom he has fallen desperately in love. Part II shows that life in the palace which *Lamia*'s magic had reared to be their home was unalloyed happiness until the all-knowing Pythagorean saw the devil that lurked under *Lamia*'s fair exterior; so he kept his mesmerizing gaze upon the lusting vampire until she reassumed her proper reptile form and vanished with a frightful scream.

E. S. GERHARD, *Secretary-Treasurer*



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